EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

OCTOBER 8, 1955—20c

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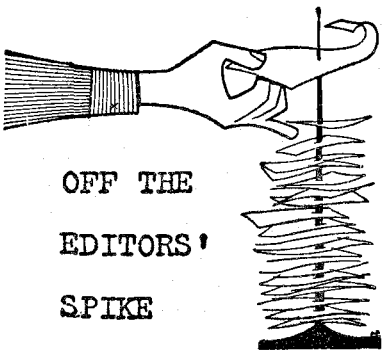

● "FARMERS," as the Des Moines Register points out in a recent editorial, "don't hold protest meetings unless they feel a grievance deeply." The 500 dirt-farmers who assembled in Corning, Iowa, to lambaste Secretary of Agriculture Benson's farm policies and to launch a state-wide protest organization, obviously felt they had some genuine grievances to air. Coming from five counties in southwest Iowa, they were not called together by any of the existing farm organizations. Primarily irked over the decline in livestock prices, they were concerned, also, about the position of farmers in the American economy. Farmers, they agreed, had "the poorest public relations in the world"; oil companies pile up enormous surpluses but these surpluses—unlike the farmers'—are seldom cited as a reason for lowering prices.

The Corning meeting, the fourth of a series, is part of an effort to create "a national organization for the purpose of getting the farmer a fair share of the national income." Most inadequately reported in the press, the movement merits careful attention for a specific reason: It is the first grass-roots protest of dirt-farmers against the Benson policies. As the Des Moines Register observes, these men are concerned less with existing conditions, which are not too onerous at the moment, than with the future.

● A YEAR AGO Chalmers Roberts of the Washington Post and Times Herald wrote two stories on American foreign policy—both subsequently fully substantiated—based on decisions made at a National Security Council meeting in Denver. Almost a year later, Mr. Robert was questioned by two F. B. I. men about his sources for the stories. He refused, of course, to reveal them. Mr. Brownell and other spokesmen for the Administration attempted to quiet the protests which the incident aroused by dismissing the interview as "routine." But was it? Editor & Publisher (September 17) points to the curious fact that the F. B. I. should be making a "routine" investigation a whole year after the alleged leak. Surely it couldn't be that the F. B. I. had just learned of the leak. Nor is it likely that the incident had been under investigation for a full year. What, then, was the meaning of the interview? Editor & Publisher comments that it "could be part of a not-so-subtle government campaign to close the gaps in the security wall and prevent leaks and also to convince reporters that leaks are a hazardous source of news. . . ." In France, leaks and editorial criticism of official policy are dealt with more summarily. When Claude Bourdet recently told French reservists that they were being called up for service in Morocco "to defend the estates of M. Borgeaud, the profits of M. Blachette, the mines of M. Aguillon, the brothels of El Glaoui, the arrogance of Georges Bidault, and the amour propre of Alphonse Juin," copies of the issue of France Observateur containing these tart comments were promptly seized by the police.

● THE AMERICAN press seems to have given little attention to the interesting statement of Walter A. Rickett on being released from a Communist prison camp in China. A Fulbright scholar and former marine combat intelligence officer, Rickett spent four and a half years in Communist prisons. According to him, General MacArthur had definite information that the Chinese were about to enter the Korean war at least a month before they crossed the Yalu. Information to this effect was passed along by Rickett to the third secretary of the British negotiating team then in Peking a full month in advance of the actual invasion.

● BANKING interests have launched a vigorous counter-offensive against Democratic criticism of the Administration's public-power policies. A recent issue of the financial newsletter issued by the Guaranty Trust Company was largely given over to a defense of the Dixon-Yates agreement. The article was quickly picked up by Republican papers and used as the basis of editorial comment. Buried in it is an explanation of the fundamental Republican concern over the public-power policies. This concern relates more to the future than to the present or the past. The country faces a period of rapid expansion of electric power; the increase in demand from 1950 to 1960 may be as high as 100 per cent. "What form," asks the newsletter, "is future expansion to take? Is it to be shaped by the careful balancing against benefits that is inherent in unsubsidized private-business enterprise?. . . ."

But who said private power was "unsubsidized"? The Wall Street Journal (August 8) reports that electric-power utilities dominated the latest and heaviest list of rapid tax write-offs the government has so far issued. Of forty-one write-off projects listed, the largest by all odds were private-utility projects: Pacific Gas and Electric Company, for example, was authorized to write off 35 per cent of $132,206,800 in new generating facilities. The Journal story lists fourteen private utility companies given tax write-off privileges valued at more than a million dollars each.

At the same time a subcommittee, holding hearings in San Francisco, has discovered that the lobbyist for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was the anonymous author of thirteen proposed changes in the Department of Interior's rules and regulations, most of which were adopted. The most important related to "wheeling" contracts. In 1948 the Truman Administration set up some new regulations, among them one requiring private utilities to transmit or "wheel" federally-generated power over their transmission lines if these lines crossed public lands. This was one of the rules which was dropped in 1954 at the prompting of the P. G. and E.'s lobbyist in Washington. Dropping it deprived government agencies of one means of securing a measure of cooperation from private utilities in the important matter of transmission lines.

C. McW.

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The President's Illness . . . by Carey McWilliams

THE FIRST NEWS out of Denver of the President's illness, headlined in the press as "neither mild nor serious," brought to a sudden shocking end a period of make-believe in American politics. For several years both major parties have based elaborate political strategems and calculations on a single fragile premise: the President's continued "availability." That premise has now been destroyed and although the dimensions and signposts are not yet clear, a new political landscape with new perspectives and contours is certain to emerge from today's confused scene. By sharing the same major premise both parties have been acting as though the 1956 campaign would be largely dedicated to the avoidance of real issues with the Democrats saying that they had supported the President's foreign policies more loyally than the Republicans and the Republicans pretending that they were united in support of these policies. Now everything is changed.

On the international front the President's illness could not have come at a more unfortunate time. In the last year Mr. Eisenhower has become the symbol of a new American policy of live-and-let-live based on the sheer unthinkability of a third world war. The new atmosphere—the "Geneva spirit"—which the President largely created is now in danger of being dissipated. His personal intervention, which has been decisive on key issues, will now be asserted less consistently and effectively. The best Cabinet teamwork in the world will not substitute for the influence of the President himself. His illness, too, takes place at a most critical juncture in East-West relations; the acid tests are upon us. The President's influence is sorely needed in drafting a reply to Bulganin's note and in settling differences between Messrs. Stassen and Dulles over disarmament policies. Uncertainty about Mr. Eisenhower's health may well prompt the Russians to adopt a wait-and-see policy. A recent editorial in *Pravda* castigating Vice-President Nixon as "one of the American reactionaries" bent on trying to reverse the "summit" trend doubtless reflects genuine Soviet misgivings. The President's right-wing critics will now seek to regain the forward warlike positions from which he forced them to retire and to reestablish a "get-tough-with-Russia-and-China" policy.

Closely related to the international aspect of the crisis in American leadership is the impact of the President's illness on official Washington. In James Reston's phrase it has upset "the whole balance of the government" and initiated "a vast struggle for power"; the war of the succession in the Republican Party has now begun. Although it will be some weeks before the new political landscape is revealed, one can be sure that the changes will be far-reaching and profound.

BUT the major consequences of the President's illness will be felt in national politics. The effects here are multiple, interacting, and cumulative.

On the Republican side the President's illness has drastically transformed the outlook for 1956. Under the most favorable circumstances—and the circumstances have not been favorable—the Republicans would require exceptional leadership to win in 1956. But leadership is what they have least of. Indeed the party's plans have been so exclusively geared to the idea of the President's availability that an enormous vacuum now exists—the larger by reason of the dearth of new political talent in the Republican Party, both in Congress and the state capitols. Since Vice-President Nixon is trying so hard to fill this vacuum the principal interest of the moment centers on his plans and prospects.

Just prior to the President's illness a group of influential leaders of the Eastern seaboard wing of the party —what David Lawrence insists on calling its "left wing" —were busily concocting a plot to dump Mr. Nixon as Vice-Presidential nominee. At the same time a well-organized movement was also under way in California to edge Mr. Nixon out of the number two position. Both movements were making considerable progress.

The existence of these movements accounts in large part for the embarrassing alacrity with which the Vice-President and his friends and well-wishers immediately sought to create the impression that Mr. Nixon had inherited a kind of regency in Washington. Aided by Mr. Nixon's close friend, Deputy Attorney-General William P. Rogers, these friends and well-wishers—including the right-wing columnists and commentators —made the week's news heavy with inspired stories about the "acting Presidency" to which the Vice-President had succeeded. Indeed the stories were so numerous, so clumsily contrived and so palpably inspired that an immediate reaction set in. Senator Knowland hurried back to Washington from California to announce that any talk of an "acting President" was "definitely premature." Attorney-General Brownell

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flew back from a vacation in Spain to throw cold water on the Nixon-inspired proposal and Sherman Adams returned from vacation to occupy his desk in the White House before Mr. Nixon could take possession of it. And the President's friends began to say in chorus that any talk of dividing up the President's powers was premature, the comment being spiced with tart references to those who "want to go too far, too fast, too soon." Although the drive of the Nixon forces to "take over" has been checked the Vice-President still remains, as the *Wall Street Journal* has said, "the most probable Republican contender." What then are his prospects?

WHILE any number of surprising developments will take place before August 20, 1956—not excluding the possibility that Mr. Eisenhower may confound everyone by deciding to seek reelection—it is already clear that Nixon's chance of winning the nomination depends on a number of specific factors. To be cold and brutal about it, his chance would be greatly improved if he were actually to succeed to the Presidency between now and then—a calamity terrifying to contemplate. The convention that assembles in San Francisco would find it very difficult to repudiate a President who had been in office only a short time. Aside from this, the Presidency is a power-generating office and Mr. Nixon would certainly use it to further his personal ambitions. Even assuming that he becomes neither President nor "acting President," he remains a strong contender. He has the spotlight and will try to hold it. He is a dangerous, unscrupulous, ambitious opportunist—a win-at-any-price politician—who is quite capable of any transformation or deception to attain his ends. For example, it would not be surprising if he began to act and sound like a "liberal" Republican. While the independent or "switch" voters detest him, he does have a foot in both Republican camps; he was influential in winning the nomination for the President at Chicago but he has never cut his ties with McCarthy and the right wing. He is also close to the China Lobby and the Midwest isolationists. The problem at the moment is to determine just what forces in the Republican Party are committed to him. He is well regarded by many Republican state chairmen. Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall is in his camp. He was selected for the Vice-Presidency by Mr. Dewey but he is not liked by the Ivy League Republicans any more than he is by Chief Justice Warren and Senator Knowland, and Mr. Brownell, who seems to have broken away from Dewey these days, is apparently not infatuated with him either. On balance it looks as if Mr. Nixon would find it difficult to unite a party which only the President's vast personal popularity has been able to keep together. But a recent poll conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* of twenty-one Republican governors and all Republican state chairmen indicated that the Vice-President ranked first with those willing to express a preference. Chief Justice Warren and Milton Eisenhower were strong runners-up and there was some mention of Paul Hoffman. It is interesting to note that Senator Knowland received only one outright endorsement: from the diehard isolationist and United Nations-hater, Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah.

Mr. Nixon also faces a tough practical problem—the California problem. The Democrats have installed new and popular regimes in New York and Pennsylvania; in these states the advantage is theirs. California, the other pivotal state, is insecurely held by the Republicans. It is a key state by any reckoning and it was doubtless for this reason that San Francisco was selected as the convention site. So far as the Presidency is concerned, the seventy-man California delegation, with a high place on the roll-call, is more important than the rest of the Western delegations combined. Nowadays the state has thirty-two electoral votes. With population increasing at the rate of 500,000 a year California's Congressional delegation has grown while other key states have lost representation. Among California's 3,266,000 registered Democrats there is a marked antipathy for Mr. Nixon (Democrats will long remember his "smear" campaign against Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas) nor is he loved by all the state's 2,415,000 registered Republicans.

California's Governor Goodwin J. Knight is ambitious, agile, energetic, and opportunistic. Recently he was "read out of the party," so to speak, by the Los Angeles *Times* because he had curried favor with the A. F. of L. Governor Knight will, for all practical purposes, control the California delegation and Knight dislikes Nixon as only one opportunist can dislike another. Senator Knowland, ambitious for the nomination himself, will probably cooperate with Governor Knight; he will not cooperate with Nixon. All three are active candidates for the nomination; all three would settle for the Vice-Presidency. Governor Knight is certain to head a favorite-son slate of delegates which will have the backing of the "regular" or "machine" Republicans. To challenge this delegation Mr. Nixon would have to enter a slate of his own with the chances being that the Knight delegation would win. In the Los Angeles area Mr. Nixon has strong support; his "anchor man" there—Murray Chotiner, who was profiled in *The Nation* of July 2—is a tough, resourceful political operator. But in California Mr. Nixon has been pushed to the margins of the Republican Party; Senator Knowland controls the patronage, Governor Knight the machine. Senator Knowland, however, hardly dares enter a delegation of his own in the California primary since in a three-way fight the Nixon delegation might win. So strong is Governor Knight's dislike of Nixon that some of his principal backers have not hesitated to say that the Republicans will lose California if they make the mistake of passing over Knight for Nixon, even for the Vice-Presidency. Nor should it be forgotten that control of the large California Congressional delegation is also at stake, or that Senator Thomas Kuchel, a weak Republican incumbent, is up for reelection in 1956. His chances as well as those of

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his colleagues in the House are directly related to the outcome of the triangular feud between Knowland, Knight, and Nixon.

The obvious solution to this complicated problem would be to draft Chief Justice Warren. Mr. Warren would keep the Republicans together; in California he would pull Democratic votes, and nationally he would be a favorite with independent voters and strong minority elements. But Mr. Warren was born on March 19, 1891 (General Eisenhower on October 14, 1890, Governor Averell Harriman, November 15, 1891) and age will have a special relevance to the 1956 selections. He would be a strong nominee but he will be most reluctant to leave the court at his age with the odds scarcely even that he could win.

If not Warren, then who are the likely "dark horse" candidates? Still dogged by the ironies which have always overtaken him, Mr. Dewey had the bad luck to leave for Europe a day or so before the President was taken ill. Mr. Dewey lives under a dark star. But if the Republicans are short of strong candidates there are many favorite sons—Governors Herter, Craig, McKeldin, Hall, and Knight, not to mention Senator Bridges, Harold Stassen, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others—so that the convention will be hard to stage-manage.

In a field in which there are few strong rivals the Vice-President becomes a formidable contender for the nomination, although he would be in almost every respect a vulnerable nominee. Governor Leader doubtless overstated the case, but not much, when he said in San Francisco that defeating Nixon for President "would be like taking candy from a baby's hot, sticky little hand."

On the Democratic side the removal of the President as a candidate will have consequences hardly less significant than for the Republicans. Governor Averell Harriman, despite his age, was a plausible nominee so long as it was generally assumed that the Democrats would not be able to win the Presidency. The rationale of the Harriman candidacy has now been undermined. On the other hand the chances of Mr. Stevenson and of Senator Kefauver have improved. Mr. Stevenson, however, faces some severe tests and trials. He has said and done little to capture the popular imagination in the last three years. He seems more inclined now than in 1952 to placate the Dixiecrats and the city bosses. And in California he, too, faces a real problem. Should he elect to enter the California primary against Senator Kefauver he might well come out second best.

The Democrats have much better material to choose from than the Republicans. There is hardly a Republican Senator who can be regarded as a plausible nominee, but Senators Kefauver, Morse, Fulbright, and Sparkman—to mention only four—would be strong Presidential or Vice-Presidential nominees. The Democrats also have a fine set of governors: Williams, Ribicoff, Harriman, Meyner, and Leader, as well as any number of exceptional individuals such as Chester Bowles, Robert M. Hutchins, and Justice William O. Douglas. With many favorite-son delegations certain to appear at Chicago it will not be any easier to control this convention than the one that meets in San Francisco. The President's illness will of course lessen the effectiveness of any campaigning he may be able to undertake and for this reason the Democrats' chances of picking up Congressional and Senatorial seats have improved. For example, Senator Dirksen, up for reelection in 1956, was counting heavily on active support from the President. By the same taken Senator Wayne Morse's chances have improved in Oregon. Seldom have independent voters been in a better strategic position to influence the choice of nominees and the adoption of good platforms. With the rivalries certain to be strong in both parties, independent voters should insist that the candidates take clear positions and that both parties clarify the real issues. Independent voters and liberals working with a united labor movement can look forward to a year of action and purpose in 1956.

THE INITIAL REACTION of the stock market to news of the President's illness is a measure of the political importance of the news. In the heaviest wave of selling since October 1, 1929, twelve basic issues dropped 3.3 billion dollars by comparison with the sixteen issues that fell 2.9 billion on October 29, 1929. A wholesale sell-off of this magnitude is the clearest possible indication that the country's line of political continuity has been severed and that a new pattern will now emerge. Ours is today more than ever before a *political* economy. The market's reaction was a reflection of the fact that a new period of confusion and uncertainty has begun in American politics. The Republicans who were relying on President Eisenhower and continued prosperity to pull them through in 1956 now must largely rely on the second factor. Will this mean that further inflationary pressure will be encouraged? Or will Mr. Humphrey still try to balance the budget?

All the world joins in wishing the President the earliest and most complete recovery. It is one of the ironies of our time that a professional soldier should have become the symbol of the world's desire for peace. The President has played a key role, perhaps inadvertently and perhaps with little consistency, but a key role all the same in assisting the nation to recover its sanity and sense of decency; the American style, as Joseph Alsop puts it, is being reestablished. But if he recovers, as he seems certain to, and he can enjoy the retirement he has so richly deserved, his illness may prove to have been a blessing for him. And if the heart attack had to come it is perhaps better that it came one year before, rather than one year after the election. Otherwise it might well have been that the American people would have been deprived of a chance to select the next President of the United States.

And it is time also that the two major parties were

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forced to deal with political realities rather than with the special political problem created by the President's great personal popularity. Those who appreciate as we do Mr. Eisenhower's personal intervention for peace and his efforts to restore the nation's sense of fairness and civic decency should now insist that both parties take full, responsible cognizance of the new political situation. Whatever their differences they should endeavor, if only for partisan reasons, to further these two great ends which the President's confident leadership succeeded in proving were objectives the people deeply wanted. As a postscript, one might add that it is about time the parties came forth with some proposals of the kind *The Nation* has urged from time to time (Veeps Can Become Presidents by Monroe Deutsch, December 20, 1952) for selecting Vice-Presidents by more responsible methods than those now used.

NOW IT'S TWO ARMIES

The Happy Germans . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

OVER THE forthcoming foreign ministers' conference here will fall the shadow not of one German army but of two. This is the immediate and most dramatic consequence of the recent visits to Moscow of the heads of the two German states. And it is a consequence which will have incalculably great effect on the evolution of the international situation.

There is no doubt that Chancellor Adenauer, once again firmly entrenched in his position of leadership at Bonn, intends to pursue his remilitarization plans relentlessly and with all vigor. "Adenauer will not permit the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting . . . to delay West German rearmament," Gaston Coblentz reported recently in the New York *Herald Tribune*. At least one important political commentator in the Federal Republic believes that the Chancellor, while in Moscow, fell victim to the "magnetic attraction between the German and Russian temperaments." Other observers believe that he remains personally antagonistic to the Slav character and with an undiminished bias in favor of Western culture. But personal feelings aside, his whole political philosophy turns upon the concept that only a strong West Germany will be able to hold Washington's loyalty and win the respect of the world.

I have intimated before in these columns that Adenauer, for all his tub-thumping for unification, was not willing to risk his army for unity. And there are indications that he is today freer from domestic pressures looking toward unification than he has ever been before. The Bonn correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* wrote on September 22:

> Behind the politicians' talk of a united Germany . . . are inescapable facts. The first is that West Germans, as of now, are not appalled by the idea of two Germanys. Some of them, including the most powerful, welcome the idea.
>
> West Germans are not ready at the moment to (1) unite with the Prussians of East Germany because they are the warlike Germans; (2) become allied with East Germany because they believe socialism emanated from that part of the country; (3) link up with Protestants who live in East Germany because in the West the Catholics are in the majority. . . . Most of all the money barons of the Western half do not want the responsibility of rehabilitating East Germany after the depredations of the Communists.

UNDER THE Paris agreements, the Federal Republic is to have a force of 500,000 men divided as follows: ground forces, 40,000; air arm, 80,000 (1,000 to 1,300 planes); navy, 20,000 (warships not to exceed 3,000 gross tons each). Some observers argue that the Russians, with their mighty armed forces, cannot possibly be serious in their objections to this relatively small *Wehrmacht*. But the Russians remember that General von Seekt began in the twenties with an army only one-fifth that size, yet within two decades Hitler was disposing of a military force capable of engaging the combined strength of Russia and the Western allies. Furthermore, the restrictions imposed upon the German military by the Treaty of Versailles were, on paper at least, harsher than the restrictions imposed on the current crop of German generals by the Paris agreements.

Not that the Germans today have free rein. To woo the reluctant French, certain conditions were placed upon Bonn rearmament. For instance, the so-called ABC weapons —atomic, biological, and chemical— are denied Adenauer. But no serious military observer believes that this restriction will hold once war comes, especially as other NATO forces have already been equipped with tactical atomic weapons designed to offset superior Russian manpower.

Hope is placed in the "democratic" character of the new West German army and even in the reluctance of German youth to join it. But the young are no longer so reluctant; many who only a few years ago were saying *"ohne mich,"*— "count me out!"—have succumbed to the propaganda pressures of their own government and of the Western allies. Even the Socialists seem to recognize that this particular battle has been lost and are concentrating their efforts on trying to assure that the army will be civilian-controlled.

Many aspects of the new military laws have not been clarified by the close-mouthed Theodor Blank, Minister of Defense. The Socialists are asking, for instance, what will happen to refugees from the Eastern zone and to residents of the Saar? Will they be incorporated into the

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army, bringing with them their hatreds and their dangerous irridentism?

The fears expressed by Socialists, pacifists, and liberals of all stripes have led the government to offer certain "guarantees" against "excessive militarism." How far do these "guarantees" go? Herr Blank blandly points to the fact that the new uniform will be more "civilian" in appearance than the old; the old helmet, favored by von Seekt and his successors, will be discarded in favor of a design similar to the American. Moreover, says Herr Blank, the military will not be permitted to wear their uniforms at political rallies. This is certainly a welcome innovation, but hardly a smashing one. The General Staff of dreadful memory has been given another name and its functions astutely shuffled to give the appearance that something new has been created. But nobody is fooled, not even by the efforts of the Socialists and the Catholic party to secure parliamentary control over the military.

There will soon be submitted to the *Bundestag* a proposal calling for the election by parliament of a "military delegate"—a man outside both parliament and the military—who will be empowered to keep an eye on the army in behalf of the elected representatives of the people. But every realist recognizes that only a civilian with stature bigger than the combined stature of all the West German generals could do any good in such a post. Where is such a civilian? The fact is that the army must be led by professionals and the Adenauer regime will hire the best it can find. The gestures toward parliamentary rule will remain gestures.

Meanwhile East Germany, following the Soviet decision to abolish the post of Soviet High Commissioner, is preparing its own army designed for membership in the "Eastern NATO" created at Warsaw as an answer to Paris. Developments are too recent for details on its size and structure to be available. There seems to be some doubt as to whether conscription will be introduced, as has been advocated in West Germany. It is assumed, however, that Communist youth groups will provide a good share of the new army's combat troops. In any case its cadres are almost certain to be limited to loyal Communists, for the lesson of the East German police who behaved so strangely during the uprising of June, 1953, has not been lost. The name of Erich Honnecker, 43-year-old youth leader, has been mentioned as a possibility for the army command.

Vicky in New Statesman and Nation (London)

"Give US the tools and we'll finish the job"

That East Germany, too, is rearming is not at all discomfiting to the militarists of West Germany. In long-range terms, the more extensive the immediate rearming on both sides of the German dividing line the more powerful will be the army that one day, they hope, will emerge from a united Germany. And in immediate terms, the Bonn militarists can count on increased help from Washington to counteract developments at Pankow. According to a Bonn spokesman, the Federal Republic's contribution to rearmament will not exceed nine billion marks. This is only a fraction of what the new *Wehrmacht* will cost. Bonn is relying on the American taxpayer to pay most of the rest.

In their hopes for the swift creation of a powerful military machine, the West German generals are also encouraged by signs that certain of the Western allies want to cut their troop commitments to Western Europe. "Why are there still four British divisions in Germany?" asks the *Daily Mail*. Lester Pearson, Canada's foreign minister, points out in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs* that NATO strategy, which calls for the maintenance of large conventional forces in Europe, must now be overhauled in the light of the East-West atomic stalemate. The German generals hope to fill the vacuum left by the removal of allied troops. They hope to exploit to the full the competition now opening between the armies of Bonn and of Pankow. So while the victors of the last war discuss disarmament, the one nation that was responsible for that war and lost it is encouraged to rearm. Here is a paradox that will bear watching.

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WATERFRONT WAR

Round Two in New York . . *by B. D. Nossiter*

THE SEPTEMBER strike in the port of New York threw into bold relief one imposing fact: more than 30,000 longshoremen succeeded in closing down the piers for eight days without posting a single picket, although state-operated and state-protected employment centers stood by ready to supply strike-breakers. For the rest, confusion hangs like a haze over the port's 700 miles of shore line and 900 piers.

On the waterfront, all labor is casual. Longshoremen, who load and unload ships, are hired anew each day. Similarly, seamen are hired by the trip. The irregularity of dockside employment is dictated by the irregular arrival and departure of ships. The right to a job on some rational basis which would take into account seniority and the principle of equalizing work opportunities and a limited job register must be a prime goal of any legitimate maritime trade union. Without it, waterfront labor is subjected to the whim of the employer and the exploitation of labor contractors, whether in the guise of business men or union leaders. A limited register and job rights were won by West Coast longshoremen and seamen a generation ago. On the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, especially in the giant New York port, a rough tradition of job rights has grown in some areas. But it has rarely been reduced to writing and has often been breached.

For more than sixty years, New York's longshoremen have been represented by the International Longshoremen's Association (I. L. A.), whose sordid history of job selling, collusion with employers, extortion, loan sharking, and organized pilferage has now been told so often that the complicated realities of hiring have been swamped. Now, under fire from its own rank-and-file members, the I. L. A. is beginning to sound very much like a real union. But in its way stands the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor and the New York Shipping Association.

The commission opened shop in late 1953 under a compact approved by the legislatures of New York and New Jersey. The compact followed closely the recommendations of Governor Dewey's New York State Crime Commission, which warned that the New York port's prosperity was endangered by waterfront conditions. In public testimony, it laid bare the pattern of bribery, extortion, and other crimes that ran from the shipping companies through the stevedores to the I. L. A. The chief victims were underpaid and overworked labor, whose docile submission is necessary to shipowners seeking maximum profits through the rapid and uninterrupted turnarounds of vessels.

The waterfront commission, with a member each from New Jersey and New York, was set up to administer and enforce the bistate compact. It licenses stevedores, pier superintendents, company hiring agents, and port watchmen. Its principal job is policing the employment of longshoremen. Except for a few crafts (which the commission now wants to bring under its control), all dock workers must register with it to work on the piers. The bistate law gives the commission power to deny, revoke, or suspend registration of men convicted of crimes, as well as individuals or members of groups advocating overthrow of the government by force or violence. It can further bar from employment any one "whose presence at the piers or other waterfront terminals . . . is found by the commission . . . to constitute a danger to the public peace or safety." The commission sets its own rules to determine who may and may not work. It is specifically excused from following common law, statutory rules of evidence, and "technical or formal rules of procedure."

Another commission task is to reduce the supply of longshore labor. Without a strong union and job rights, the competition of men for jobs is an invitation to employer and labor abuses. For the year ending September 31, 1954, a New York *Times* survey counted 33,500 longshoremen on the New York Shipping Association's payrolls. But even on the port's peak days, only 16,000 can find work. In other words, there are two men for every job. The 33,500 averaged only 830 working hours or not quite twenty-one forty-hour weeks. Nearly two-thirds earned less than $3,000 a year and little more than one in five earned over $4,000. To slash this oversupply, the commission drops from its register men who do not appear for work at least forty-eight times in six months. There have been 7,603 lopped off. The commission, however, may be defeating its own efforts by continually adding to its rolls. Several sources have placed the monthly total of new registrants at 300, but there is reason to believe that it runs even higher.

THE core of the commission's control over dockside employment lies in its thirteen employment centers and the rules drawn up for their use. Located at key points around the harbor, the centers were established to carry out the bistate law's clause that no longshoreman shall be hired outside commission-prescribed halls. But in another clause, the law states that nothing in it shall be construed to destroy collective-bargaining agreements which provide hiring by seniority or other preference systems. Here is the nub of the I. L. A.'s quarrel with the commission. The union insists that the commission's hiring rules serve to override the union contract with the employers, who are grouped in the New York Shipping Association. The I. L. A. asserts that job control has been

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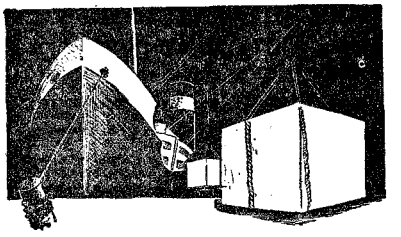
taken from its hands and given over to the tender mercies of the employers. The commission replies that it has no choice under the law.

Behind this crucial argument lies the traditional crazy-quilt pattern of dock-labor hire in the New York port. Contrary to popular myth, the notorious shape-up was used to hire only a fraction of longshore labor. On some piers, notably Manhattan's upper West Side, regular gangs of twenty-one or twenty-two men loaded and unloaded ships with reasonable expectations of five days' work a week. In other areas, certain gangs "owned" certain piers and had first call on work there. On Pier 1, Erie Basin in Brooklyn, for example, several gangs could count on seven or eight days' work a month. The rest of the time they roamed the waterfront for work. In Newark, Staten Island, and around Manhattan's southern horn, work on a given pier was rotated among the gangs with an eye to equalizing yearly earnings. So-called terminal labor, cargo sorters, checkers, tractor drivers, and others were hired individually and not in gangs. They also tended to follow certain piers and got hiring preference where possible. The shape-up, in which men gathered at the pierhead in a semi-circle while a hiring boss picked out those who would work, was largely limited to "extra" men needed to fill a short gang or swell the normal terminal labor complement.

This labor pattern, for all its irregularity, embodied a rough system of preferential hiring and a job-rights structure. It was and is a long way from Harry Bridges's West Coast hiring hall, where job rights are spelled out and men who have been without work the longest are hired first for any pier in a port.

THE commission first set about to destroy the degrading shape-up. All extra men were required to report to one of the commission's thirteen centers, where the stevedore's hiring agent, licensed by the commission, came to select the men he wanted. This technically destroyed the union's control over the hiring of extras, but the commission moved much more slowly against other traditional hiring techniques, possibly fearing to throw the port into complete chaos.

So for the first sixteen months of



the commission's operations, most longshoremen continued to report directly to their piers without going through the commission centers. Employers would send the commission advance lists of gangs and men they planned to hire for the next five days or a week. The commission, first checking to make sure that all names were on its register, would then "prevalidate" the list.

A prevalidated list could be extended from week to week. Regular gangs and regular men continued to follow their piers. Extra gangs, needed when there was more work at a pier than the regulars could handle, were dispatched by I. L. A. locals.

The commission's early leniency in administering the bistate law can also be explained by its expectation that a rival union, the International Brotherood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L., would succeed in sweeping the I. L. A. off the waterfront. The press, the government, and the A. F. of L. seamen's union were behind the I. B. L. But dockworkers are a special breed. More than one in six has a police record. They are notoriously clannish and suspicious of government. In Brooklyn, in October, 1953, they had seen covered trucks of A. F. of L. stalwarts, some of whom were unemployed seamen, go through their picket lines protected by police.

Late in December, 1953, the commission's first month of full-scale operation, the National Labor Relations Board held an election to see whether the I. L. B. or the I. L. A. should represent the dockworkers.

This writer watched the balloting in Jersey City all day; the vote there was secret and uncoerced. Throughout the port, the N. L. R. B. counted 9,060 for the I. L. A., 7,568 for the new A. F. of L. union; 4,397 votes were challenged. An enraged Governor Dewey asked the commission to report on the "violence and corruption" that he said had prevented a free vote. Lawrence E. Walsh, the commission's executive director, now a federal judge, termed the A. F. of L. ballots as proof that "the longshoreman has found his voice and risen against criminal dictators."

The N. L. R. B. threw out the election. By the spring of 1954 there was still no certified bargaining agent for longshoremen. The I. L. A. struck for recognition. The commission kept open its centers, supplying strike-breakers to hiring agents throughout the month-long stoppage. It enlisted the New York City police for their protection and eased its validation rules to encourage hiring. On some days the commission sent more than 3,000 men to the piers. It criticized the stevedores for not hiring more and suspended licenses of twenty-one longshoremen for alleged assaults. Finally it put an amendment through the two state legislatures giving it the power to seek an injunction against interference with its operations. An injunction was granted and the strike ended. But this heavy-handed legal artillery backfired. At a second and even closer election in the summer of 1954, the I. L. A. won again and was finally certified as bargaining agent. The commission has since punished 141 I. L. A. men for alleged assaults and mass picketing—the latter despite the fact that a United States Circuit Court has ruled the stoppage was bona fide.

ITS TREASURY bankrupt, its social standing akin to a pariah's the I. L. A. sat down with the New York Shipping Association to negotiate a contract. Its sole asset was the dockworkers. The final product was a genuine labor contract. It provided for 4 cents more in pension and welfare benefits, wage increases of 13 cents over two years (bringing hourly base pay to $2.48 as of October 1); a guarantee of four hours' pay for each day a man is called to work plus a guarantee of two hours' if he is recalled in the afternoon; an orderly grievance procedure ending in arbitration; a union shop and three crucial altnough vaguely worded provisions about hiring.

The first of the hiring clauses declares that customs and practices in effect on December 28, 1954, shall remain in effect. In order to implement the clause, the contract goes on to say that the employer shall "notify" the union when extra gangs are needed. The union understood this to mean that the employers

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would actually pick the extra gangs from among those offered by the I. L. A. locals. The word "notify," certainly an ambiguous word in this context, was used—so the union declares—because any plain statement of the union's right to choose extra gangs would have run counter to the bistate law, which gives this right to the commission. Even so the I. L. A.'s interpretation was followed for several months without challenge by the employer. Further to buttress traditional hiring practices, a third clause in the union-shipowners' contract provides that regular gangs and regular men who follow specific piers shall be hired first.

But on January 12, the day after the new contract went into effect, the commission announced a change of rules. Last April 1, its new gang-posting, gang-hiring system went into effect. Under it the employer is given carte blanche with respect to the hiring of extra gangs; the union is pushed out of the picture altogether. Although for the time being the regular gangs and regular men are unaffected, the new system poses a threat to their job rights, too.

ONE of I. L. A.'s best-run locals, 856, offers a striking illustration of how the new rule upsets preferences. This local has jurisdiction over eleven piers on the East and North Rivers at the south end of Manhattan. Forty of its gangs are regulars, following particular piers. The other nine rove. For fifteen years, 856 followed a policy aimed at equalizing the annual earnings of its members. Thus, when cargo was loaded or unloaded on Pier 14, North River, the five gangs working there got first call. If there was work only for three, those with the lowest earnings were called first. The nine roving gangs got first call when more gangs than the regular number following the pier were required. They too were called in order of earnings, with the lowest-earning gang called first. It is true that the system is by no means perfect. This year, through August 31, the highest-earning gang in the local earned more than $3,800; the lowest, about $2,700. Nevertheless the $2,700 figure, earned in eight months, shows up not badly in contrast with the fact that nearly two-thirds of New York's longshoremen earn less than $3,000 in a whole year.

This system can't match the West Coast, where all workers in a port are within a few dollars of each other. But at least it is a beginning. Moreover, Local 856's rotation system is in writing and agreed to by employers. Recently one stevedore refused to take a Negro gang, eligible by virtue of its lower wage earnings, for the next job. The grievance went to the joint I. L. A.-Shipping Association Labor Relations Committee and the stevedore was forced to pay the Negro gang for the work it had lost.

But the new rules are playing hob with this setup, according to Fred R. Field, Jr., Local 856's secretary-treasurer and president of the New York District Council. No hiring boss has yet been fearless enough to bypass the regular gangs, but when extras are needed, he now often ignores the equalization setup. This is done with the help of the commission.

Union officials charge that both employers and the commission are using the new rules to break the union. Anthony Anastasio, I. L. A. chieftain in Brooklyn, claims the commission centers are pushing A. F. of L. adherents into jobs. Commission member Joseph Weintraub, a New Jersey lawyer, replies, "We don't hire. The hiring agent does." But the hiring agents are licensed by the commission, and Weintraub will not permit union officials at the centers "because it would be absurd for them to police us."

Mr. Weintraub says the commission is willing to observe the bistate compact's provision for the recognition of collective bargaining arrangements, but he contends that the I. L. A. and the Shipping Association "never had any mutual understanding about customs and practices." The commission has met with union representatives and employers to spell out hiring preferences. However, Patrick J. Connolly, the I. L. A.'s executive vice-president, says these meetings have proven futile. He says the commission acts as if it had only one aim, "Bust the union." Mr. Weintraub retorts that the commission objects to union proposals only when they are illegal. "If the parties agreed that men should be hired on a preferential system, or one that equalizes pay, we would not interfere," he argues.

Faced with this stalemate, the I. L. A. on August 23 asked the Shipping Association to renegotiate the contract's hiring clause. The I. L. A. was seeking a formula that would recognize preference, yet stay within the commission rules. The employers, who can hardly be blamed for enjoying the freedom given them by the commission, declined to renegotiate. One week later the longshoremen hit the bricks.

NEWSPAPER accounts of the strike insisted the dockers' chief grievance was the capricious way in which the commission determined who may not work on the waterfront. I. L. A. leaders said little to clear the air. In any case, for the 650 men with police records whom the commission barred from the waterfront, this was a major concern. And the more than 7,000 other longshoremen with police records may also have been wondering if their turn was next. But primarily men walk off jobs over money. Most dockers stayed out not so much in defense of coworkers with criminal records, but because they believed the commission's new rules were threatening their jobs within the hiring-preference systems around the port. Mr. Weintraub, however, said the men stayed away through fear of goons.

A second source of grievance, closely tied to hiring preference, is that the commission continues to register new men for work, giving hiring bosses increasing opportunity to hire non-union labor. The I. L. A.'s leaders began to press the commission to close its register. The commission replies that the law forbids it to do so.

Beyond the primary concern over job rights, the I. L. A. challenges the commission's methods of granting and revoking registration on the basis of a man's criminal past. There are no fixed standards. "It's a matter of judgment and discretion that can't be reduced to a formula," Mr. Weinstraub says. The union can name men who were denied the right to work although their last conviction took place a decade or more ago. The whole question of rehabilitating a man who has paid his legal debt to society is at stake here.

The commission's attitude toward crime is strikingly narrow. One union official, for example, tells of

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a man who was denied registration for bookmaking convictions. The arrests took place when bookmaking in his area was protected by the police. When the police, to make the record look good, needed to make an arrest, the now-debarred longshoreman would let himself be found with slips and the police themselves would pay his fine. Mr. Weintraub's reaction to this story was, "A stand-in is as guilty as the man making book." The commission has lifted or suspended registrations of men who were charged with crimes but were later acquitted in court. "We are not bound by the courts," Mr. Weintraub says. "We might get witnesses to testify in our proceedings who would not testify in a court."

The bistate compact gives the commission almost unlimited latitude; court challenges of its registration procedures have so far proved unavailing. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, dissenting from a decision that upheld the compact's constitutionality, observed, "The right to work—which goes to the very heart of our way of life—is at stake in these appeals." He noted the compact apparently disqualifies a man convicted of automobile manslaughter as well as "a Communist whether he be of the cloak and dagger variety or a paler type."

The September stoppage was halted with a barrage of injunctions brought by the Shipping Association and the commission. The I. L. A., with fines and jail facing its leaders, created a strange ad hoc committee as an excuse to call the men back to work. This committee is pledged to hold public hearings on the I. L. A.'s grievances against the commission, but its auspices are not promising. It was formed by politicians from the Hague-Kenny political precinct in Hudson county, New Jersey. Its chairman, Godfrey Schmidt, is head of AWARE, the theatrical blacklisting group. The I. L. A. has nowhere else to turn. A few weeks before the strike, New York's Governor Harriman, through his counsel, promised to set up a buffer unit between the commission and the union. But the governor was apparently frightened off by outraged "respectables." During the strike, an aide to a New York legislative committee on labor also promised the I. L. A. a forum. But the

committee chairman repudiated his aide's pledge. According to the New York *Times,* Governor Harriman had made a secret agreement with a Republican legislative leader not to permit any appeal for the I. L. A. outside the commission itself.

ALTHOUGH the stoppage ended on an inconclusive note, the questions it raised remain. In the minds of many, the biggest unresolved question is whether the I. L. A. is still a racket union seeking job control as a club for shakedowns or whether pressure is finally converting it into a bona fide union. Some trade-union circles, notably supporters of the A. F. of L.'s rival International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, insist the I. L. A. hasn't changed its spots. They argue that I. L. A. officials are using the union to get back their former public-loading businesses. The I. B. L., with locals mostly on the Mississippi River and Great Lakes, promises it will seek another bargaining election in New York before the I. L. A.'s current contract expires next fall. The I. B. L. says it is not impressed with the I. L. A.'s contract, arguing that it does not provide detailed, preferential-hiring rules and does not limit the loads in slings as required on the West Coast. The A. F. of L. union charges that the I. L. A. permits speed-ups, is still led by men who figured in crime-commission testimony and must be insincere in its demands that the commission close the register because it won't close its own membership books.

Certainly some I. L. A. officials talk as if they are a trifle uneasy about legitimate trade unionism. Mr. Anastasio, for example, was asked why the I. L. A. doesn't drive off the non-union men supplied by the commission by enforcing its union-shop clause. He replied, "I don't want to destroy business on my piers. If I enforce this, the employers will take the business elsewhere." Even the I. L. A.'s best friends don't deny that the local heads cooperate uneasily and too often act like feudal barons, each protecting his own principality.

It is true, too, that some I. L. A. leaders look back wistfully to public loading, now outlawed. Both Mr. Connolly and Mr. Anastasio will argue that public loading was less costly to the shipping companies than the present setup. The New York State Crime Commission, of course, showed that some union officials set themselves up as public loaders (loading and unloading pierside trucks) and used their dual role to extort handsome sums.

Most waterfront figures, friendly and unfriendly to the I. L. A., say kickbacks by the men for jobs is ancient history. But one large local recently published a souvenir journal for its annual dance filled with paid complimentary ads from gangs, men, and stevedores.

Perspective is needed for this picture. After sixty years in the business of labor contracting the I. L. A. cannot be expected to turn upside down overnight. The portwide support for the last strike, a stoppage which for brief periods even enlisted other Atlantic coast ports, suggests that the best judges, the longshoremen, find the I. L. A. worth backing.

There are some signs of a new look. Local 856, for example, has started a weekly newspaper that pleads with men to come to meetings. In between howls at the waterfront commission, it is pounding away at the men to prepare them for next year's contract. It is calling for 2,240-pound sling-load limit, paid holidays, and a "Union-Management Hiring Hall where work will be assigned on a seniority and rotary basis by a dispatcher democratically elected by the men."

Thomas Gleason, general organizer for the I. L. A., told the House Merchant Marine Committee on July 20: "We believe that stability in labor relations is essential to the progress and prosperity of the ship-

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ping industry. . . . The I. L. A. is in favor of national collective bargaining with common expirations dates for all contracts covering longshore labor in the United States." Here is an important hint of a possible merger between the I. L. A. and Harry Bridges's West Coast union.

True, the union hasn't closed its membership books. It argues that as long as the commission registers new men, there is nothing to gain by such a move. But its fight to close the register is the I. L. A.'s first recognition that too many men are seeking too few jobs. Even if the register isn't formally closed, the I. L. A.'s more knowing leaders hope to close it in effect through agreement with the shipowners.

Of course, if the union finds a formula that will enable it to live with the commission and still keep job control, the way would be open again for unscrupulous leaders to restore many of the old rackets. The answer to this, and the answer to most of the port's problems, lies in the men. Any formula the union finds will have to spell out in detail preference and equalization practices. Once these are on paper and made a daily reality, it is hard to imagine the longshoremen giving them up without a struggle that would smash the I. L. A. And no leader, no matter how much he pines for the good old days, willingly commits political suicide.

NEPAL: INDIA'S HEADACHE

The Plaints Sound Familar . . *by Taya Zinkin*

London

IMPERIALISM is one of the harshest words in the vocabulary of Nehru's India. It is an epithet often used against the United States and other Western powers. But in the fabulous kingdom of Nepal the representatives of the Indian government are damned as "imperialists" and worse, and like their Occidental counterparts, they have to grin and bear it.

Nepal is a narrow strip of a country slung across the Himalayas between India and Tibet. Of its 8,000,000 population not more than 3 per cent are literate; only the highly inbred nobility enjoy a tolerable living standard. Although racially and linguistically the Nepalese are indistinguishable from their Indian neighbors, they are fiercely proud of their independence and distrustful of all "outsiders."

The government of India was perfectly willing to let Nepal enjoy its privacy until the Chinese Communists took over Tibet. Faced then by the possibility of a further Chinese spill-over and a threat to the vulnerable flatland border that India shares with Nepal, Prime Minister Nehru informed Peking that India regarded the territorial integrity of Nepal as a national issue and that aggression against that kingdom would be considered an aggression against India.

Since the social order in Nepal is truly medieval, one might reasonably have expected its rulers to be grateful for this protective gesture. But not at all. The feudal lords didn't want to be swallowed up by the Communists, but they were equally resentful of Nehru's brotherly embrace. The defense minister of Nepal declared, "I do not like India guaranteeing my border without being asked to. Our relations with Tibet have always been cordial. We do not want to be involved in the matter simply because it suits others—and India, being a world power, has to consider many points which do not concern us, in her relations to China." The indignant tone is ironically reminiscent of that in which Nehru couched his objections to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

India also has launched a program of technical assistance for Nepal, designed to strengthen the country's murky economy against a collapse that could breed domestic communism. But here too, the effort is slowed by Nepalese mistrust that verges on sabotage. The native population is unused to such fundamental procedures as regular office hours and record-keeping; graft and absenteeism are honorable institutions. The Indian advisors and technicians receive four times as much pay as their Nepalese counterparts; the government deplores local coolies being paid at the Indian scale, since the traditional wage is nothing at all.

Indeed, whatever the Indians do is wrong. If they do not mix, they are accused of being snobbish; if they do, they are patronizing—and if they fraternize, Nepalese male pride is offended. Indian soldiers assigned to building projects are under orders to let native women alone. But the mimeographed sheet that serves as a newspaper for the Nepalese capital of Kathmandu accuses Indians of "eyelashing our girls"—a heinous crime, certainly, in a land where both polygamy and polyandry are commonplace among the hill tribes.

THE INDIAN economic contribution, administered jointly by an advisory mission and the army, centers on improving transportation facilities. Kathmandu at present is accessible only by foot, by air, or by rope way. Floods, in 1954, heavily damaged the rope way, washing off nearly a third of the carrier hooks. For a year now, the Indian government has offered to replace the missing hooks free of charge, but Nepal has not yet accepted. The Indians are constructing an all-weather airport at Kathmandu—an operation slowed by the laggard arrival of material via the damaged rope way—and a road for vehicles which will link India and the Nepalese capital.

The building of the road from Bhainse Dobhan to Kathmandu, over eighty miles of mountainous

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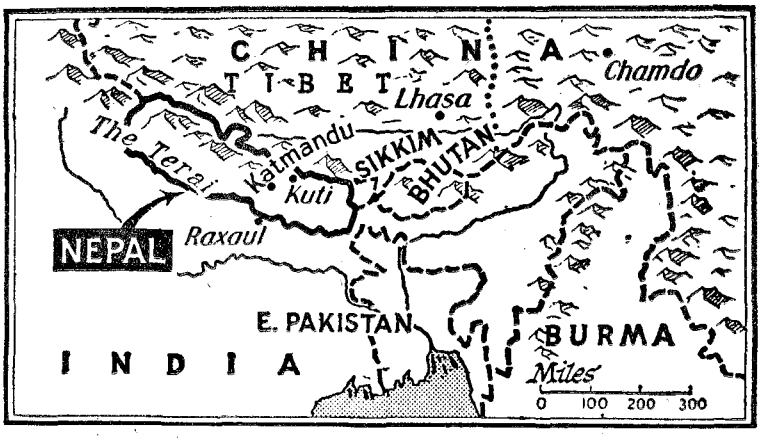
jungle, provides a complete picture of the sources of friction between the unequal partners. The Indian army is building the road, on Nepalese soil, for the benefit of Nepal. India compensates the peasants whose land is taken away for the road but the compensation has to be paid out by the Nepalese government (with Indian money). Since the appropriate governmental agency, despite its 1,000 rooms, is a mere ghost of an administrative building, the peasants lose their land and get no payment. They naturally blame the Indians for their ruin and are very unwilling to cooperate, even going to the extent of refusing to sell the produce of their land to them, although they would get higher prices than they could possibly get in the local markets.

Construction of the road is done with as much mechanization as possible. This not only avoids dealing with coolies, but makes progress faster. It also means more friction. When vehicles traverse a country hitherto innocent of any but the praying-wheel, accidents will happen. Local curiosity overcomes prudence, and Nepalese get run over. This is not surprising when one realizes that some of them have been known to race planes along an airstrip to see who could run faster, the "giant bird" or themselves.



Since there is no legal system worth the name in Nepal, and the running over a cow is punishable by death, the Indian army quite naturally has insisted that any of its drivers accused of running over somebody should be tried by Indian army courts. More resentment.

Looking into the future, one can see in the Indian road endless fuel for friction. The road is a very skilled engineering job, crossing over 8,000-foot-high passes of young Alpine granite as friable as sponge cake. It has some forty major bridges and 800-odd culverts. It will, for the next forty years, require not only a lot of maintenance, but extensive repairs as each monsoon washes out the freshly exposed hillsides, until the roadbed settles down. India is spending a lot of money on the road, to help Nepal, and to open up Nepal for strategic purposes. But who is to service the road once it is finished? If it is India, with Indian personnel, the Nepalese will shout that they are being invaded; if it is Nepal with Indian money (Nepal is a bankrupt country) Indians will shout waste. Either way the Indian government will be the villain. Does one need to cite certain international parallels this situation suggests?

A BLOW FOR EDUCATION

Death of the P.E.A. . . . *by Frederick L. Redefer*

THE Progressive Education Association no longer exists. On June 25, two members of the board of directors, supported by proxies, met in Urbana, Illinois, for the purpose of declaring that the Progressive Education Association was thereby dissolved. A meeting of the membership on July 23 endorsed this decision with six dissenting votes.

Thirty years after its founding, why did the Progressive Education Association reach a stage when not enough of its members wanted to keep it alive? The New York *Times* suggests as a reason that the word "progressive" came to be disliked and distrusted. The name became associated with socialism and communism by confused people in a confused era. When the Progressive Education Association was founded in 1919 "progressive" was a good word and the only one they could think of which expressed their direction. At this time "progressive" symbolized some of the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, the reforms of Roosevelt, and the rapid improvements of the previous decades. It expressed the spirit of the United States. To be progressive meant to be moving ahead to better things.

The Progressive Education Association was founded by a small group who did not necessarily agree with each other on specifics, but had, in common, a faith in the power of a better education in home and school to produce young people who would be more sensitive to beauty, more balanced, more mature, and more socially conscious. Charles Eliot of Harvard accepted their invitation to be the first honorary president of the Progressive Education Association and called it "the most promising movement above the educational horizon."

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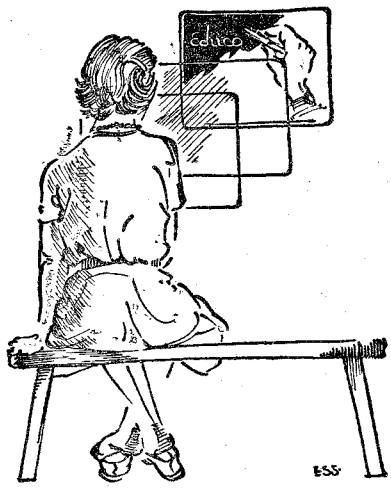
At first the association was supported in the main by parents and teachers in the private schools that sprang up in opposition to the trend toward regimentation and mechanization in the public schools. As the twenties progressed, teachers and administrators in public schools joined the movement in numbers. Professors replaced parents in an active role in the association and, in the words of Stanwood Cobb, the first president of P. E. A., "The followers of John Dewey captured the leadership of the organization." John Dewey, who always said that Francis W. Parker was the father of progressive education, became the second honorary president. His name became inextricably entwined with both the association and the movement although he was publicly critical of some progressive schools and expressed the belief that "progressive education" would soon fade out of the popular jargon of the profession. Nor were all the members of the association willing to accept the writings of John Dewey as an educational Bible.In its national conference activities, it reached approximately 25,000 teachers and administrators yearly.

THE Progressive Education Association initiated many things that redound to its credit. It published a journal, *Progressive Education,* that set a standard of quality in format and content for the educational press. It published *Frontiers of Democracy* to alert teachers to the importance that political, economic, and social events had for education. It adapted Overstreet's technique of panel discussions and made this method common practice in educational circles. It held the first "workshop" for teachers at Ohio State University. Now workshops, good and bad, have become familiar to the university campus. It developed "study conferences," in which teachers discussed and learned, rather than sat and listened. It set in motion whatever machinery now exists to protect the academic freedom of elementary and secondary teachers by prodding other teacher organizations into cooperative and more effective action. When the war clouds rolled over Europe in the middle thirties, the association led with conferences on democracy and the role of education in strengthening it.



There was no educational association that was not affected by the yeast of the Progressive Education Association. Its leaders were sought after by other conferences and to lead other organizations. They were often torn by these demands and the threads were thin that held them together as a distinct group. They never did accept one philosophical statement even though they were identified as Deweyites. When the association attempted to answer its critics as to what it meant by progressive education, a statement was published from which there were almost as many dissents as there were collaborators. Their vitality was their agreement on direction while they argued on specifics. Each followed his own route to improved education.

In the early days of the depression, the progressives in education grappled with the role of education and social change. When George Counts gave his famous talk, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" at the P. E. A. national conference in Baltimore in 1932, the excitement generated was so great that discussion groups held forth into the early hours of the morning. As the depression lessened, interest in social objectives diminished. By 1940 neither Counts nor anyone else was asking this question. Reforming zeal had gone out of fashion. There was less faith in what education in the mass of schools could accomplish in the way of bringing about changes. The association through its journal, *Frontiers of Democracy,* supported intervention in World War II, and when the die was cast the P. E. A. gave all its support to the war effort but tried to make war activities educational. It tried to stress the importance of knowing why we were fighting and of planning for post-war reconstruction. It was brushed aside by the tidal wave of those who concentrated on winning the war first. The association became "causeless."

The war diverted attention away from the P. E. A. and its goals. Research studies that were to be the basis for improving education came out just when educators' efforts were absorbed by problems arising from the loss of students and faculty to the army and the munitions plants. Education struggled to maintain the status quo rather than to change for a new world. At the end of the war, the trend continued; interest in basic educational improvement was less. The association tried to rally its members about the theme of "the community" to no avail. It dropped its publication *Frontiers of Democracy* because of soaring costs and a diminished subscription list that reflected the rising climate of fear. Not only had "progressive" become a bad word but "frontiers" and "democracy" became dangerous too. The area of international education that should have been explored following Willkie's "One World" was fenced off by suspicion and timidity.

ALTHOUGH the P.E.A. continued to exist until 1955, in effect, except as the publisher of *Progressive Education,* it died long before that time. In its last five years, it held no conferences and the board of directors seldom met. The great majority of those teaching in public and private schools today were not affected by the period of the greatest influence of the P. E. A. They do not know the progressive-education movement any more than they understand the New Deal. They did not participate in the lively and productive ferment of the depression era. What organization will now provide the yeast for American education? What association will dare to bring before teachers those who have something important to say in today's world? Who will resist censorship and discuss what needs to be discussed? It will be a sad day for American education and for all society if there arises no equivalent for the now deceased Progressive Education Association.

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SELLING THE KIDDIES

TV Admen's Master Stroke . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

SEVERAL years ago, when television was in its infancy, an advertisement appeared in a trade publication pointing out to alert manufacturers the remarkable ability of television to indoctrinate pre-school children with commercial brand names. The ad, quoted in E. S. Turner's "The Shocking History of Advertising," described the following family scene:

> Speaking of surveys, we tried an experiment the other evening. . . . To a curly-headed four-year-old being tucked under the covers we posed this question: Susie, which product brushes teeth whiter? "Colgate's, of course, Gramp." We couldn't resist another. Which product washes clothes cleaner? Without a moment's hesitation: "Tide." We tried once more. Which coffee gives the best value? When she replied, "A and P, and now good-night, Gramp," we hurried out of the child's room with other questions beating at our brain.
>
> Where else on earth is brand consciousness fixed so firmly in the minds of four-year-old tots? How many pre-school Americans are pre-sold on how many different products? What is it worth to a manufacturer who can close in on this juvenile audience and continue to sell it under controlled conditions, year after year, right up to its attainment of adulthood and full-fledged buyer status? It CAN be done. Interested?

This ad appeared around 1950 when there were 5,000,000 television sets in the United States. Since then, the number of sets has spiraled to 32,000,000, entering two out of every three households in the nation. This rapid growth has afforded advertisers of soaps, cigarettes, detergents, cereals, beers, etc., the chance to "plant their feet on the nation's hearth," as one trade observer put it. It also has enabled them to "close in" on the 18,000,000 children under five years of age and the 16,000,000 in the five-to-nine group—successfully capturing many of these young listeners with their commercials. How successfully is shown in the research findings by the Youth Research Institute that "youngsters eagerly repeat television and radio commercials which strike their fancy. Even five-year-olds sing beer commercials over and over again with gusto." Assurance is offered advertisers by the Youth Research Institute that "millions of youngsters" in homes throughout the nation are singing the merits of advertised products "with the same vigor displayed by the most enthusiastic announcers." An additional bright spot is that a catchy commercial is repeatedly sung during the day by youngsters at no extra cost to the advertiser. "They are also much more difficult to turn off," the report adds.

NOR DO the children limit their activities on behalf of the advertiser to the singing of commercials. As every parent knows, they exert a major influence on family spending. One survey reveals that they urge their parents to buy a specified brand of breakfast cereal 71 per cent of the time, pressure for the purchase of 44 per cent of the packaged desserts, 35 per cent of the milk-fortifiers, and 32 per cent of the toothpastes.

The trick in turning children into the extended selling arm of the advertiser is easily accomplished by using child-appeal premiums. These premiums are generally fabricated of inexpensive plastics, metal, or paper products, and their cost is ordinarily more than covered by the charge to the consumer. Often there is room in the consumer charge for a profit for the distributor and retailers handling the premium for the advertiser. But the essence of the premium's purpose is not to return an immediate profit, but rather to excite the children and create in them an overwhelming yen for possession of the premium. This simple technique of using the premium as bait for the children, and children as bait for their parents, effectively mangles the parents' usual marketing considerations of need, price, quality, and budget.

For example, General Electric offered a sixty-piece circus, a magic-ray gun, and a space helmet as premiums for children who brought their parents into dealers' stores to witness demonstrations of new GE refrigerator models. Sylvania offered a complete Space Ranger kit, replete with space helmet, disintegrator, flying saucer, and space telephone, to children who brought their parents into dealers' stores to see the new line of television sets. Nash blandished a toy service station that pulled countless thousands of youngsters into showrooms where their parents' buying-potential was courted. Quaker Oats sent workmen into the Yukon to transplant five tons of dirt to Anchorage, Alaska, where a prospector's pouch containing a bit of the dirt was mailed to any child in return for 25 cents and a Quaker Oats boxtop. General Mills offered youngsters Lone Ranger masks in millions of Wheaties boxes and Lone Ranger comic books in millions of Cheerio boxes. Sunkist Growers offered four giant circus masks for 25 cents and a wrapper from a three-can package; Standard Brands gave away Howdy Doody coloring cards with Royal pudding boxes; Armour and Company used baseball buttons to promote the consumption of its frankfurters, and Colgate pushed up its soap sales with a "name Lassie's puppies" contest, the prizes including a year's supply of Fab for "mother." These were only a few of the many scores of juvenile premium offers.

Manipulation of children's minds in the fields of religion or politics would touch off a parental storm of protest and a rash of congressional investigations. But in the world of commerce children are fair game and legitimate prey.

JOSEPH J. SELDIN, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is a New York advertising man.*

October 8, 1955

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BOOKS

Farewell to the Crusaders

By Frederick L. Schuman

FROM Vienna in May to Geneva in July to the U. N. Assembly in September to the Foreign Ministers' meeting in October is a longer journey in diplomacy than it is on the map or in the calendar. An even longer journey stretches from the frenzies of 1948 to the global peace of 1958 by way of the lifting of the Berlin blockade, the armistice accords in Korea and Indo-China, the *de facto* truce in the Straits of Formosa, and the negotiations of the months and years to come. Prior to arrival the details of the destination remain unclear. But the direction of the travelers, long since anticipated in these pages, now admits of no doubt.

Among those left by the wayside—happily for the rest of us, for I deem these characters to be permanently consigned to limbo—are the fanatics of both camps who, year after year, have cried havoc and summoned the demonophobes and desperados to Armageddon. Their raucous pleas to slay the godless within the gates and to rescue the Sacred Sepulcher from the infidels are not yet silenced either in the paranoid section of the American press or, one may guess, in the inner councils of the Kremlin. The erstwhile listeners, however, have drifted away and are eagerly following other voices toward goals compatible with the survival of the race.

IF AND WHEN the full story of these strange and dangerous times comes to be written, one of the major tasks of the recorder and analyst will be to explain how millions were bewitched, almost to the point of madness, by the preachers of Holy War and how and why they finally recovered their reason. The time for this is not yet ripe. A beginning has nevertheless been made where one might expect it to be made: in Britain. No American statesman, journalist, or academician has essayed the enterprise. No one here has written seriously of these matters, apart from useful "think pieces" by James P. Warburg, D. F. Fleming, Nathaniel Peffer, and a few other unorthodox souls, since Walter Lippmann in 1947 published in book form his columns in criticism of the Truman Doctrine. Winston Churchill has spoken and written of them wisely, perhaps to compensate for his earlier Russophobia and his own contributions to American hysteria in 1946. So also has Arnold Toynbee, in compensation—may we say?—for the nonsense he has written about Zionism.

Now another Englishman, Kenneth Ingram, has most usefully ventured a "History of the Cold War," of which the Philosophical Library next month publishes an American edition. He is not well known, even in England, despite three novels and eleven volumes of history, biography, and current comment. He would be the last to claim that his new work is definitive and the first to grant that it is little more than a journalistic sketch. Yet the absence of any other study of comparable scope and insight makes this essay doubly welcome. He surveys in broad strokes the background, the events of 1945, the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the Marshall Plan, the Battle of Berlin, the Czech *coup*, the Yugoslav schism, the atomic deadlock, NATO and German rearmament, unofficial East-West relations, the rising tide of color against white colonialism, China, the Korean War, the Japanese treaty, and the passing of Stalin. To have put all this together in 233 pages, on the whole readably and judiciously, is no small achievement. Readers will find the narrative highly rewarding.

Ingram begins with a justified profession of objectivity. His aim, he says, "is to enable the reader to consider the arguments of both sides, so that, after my own summing up, he can assess the measure of guilt attaching to both parties." But he warns at once against the widespread "misconception" of mutual trust during World War II. "Suspicion of Soviet intentions was a constant underlying factor in the minds of Western statesmen, and this suspicion was never removed during or since the war. The Soviet leaders were well aware of this attitude, and reacted by remaining correspondingly suspicious of the West. . . . Mutual distrust was dominant throughout. It is not enough to attribute Soviet distrust to a spirit of 'measureless ambition,'" since the ambition "was due, in part at least, to a belief that the West was so intensely hostile" as to deserve being regarded as a potential enemy. With scrupulous fairness, Ingram traces the breeding of distrust by distrust through all the major periods and problems of a hectic decade.

HERE is no sugar-coating of Soviet ruthlessness and stupidity, nor any acceptance of American policy as a righteous crusade for freedom. Ingram quotes Howard K. Smith approvingly on the sequel to the "liberation" of northern Iran from Soviet troops: its conversion into "an American satellite," 6,000 miles from America and on "Russia's most sensitive border." He notes, sagely, that in the nature of power politics all claims that NATO and the Soviet alliances are purely "defensive" are wholly unconvincing to the other side. His interpretation of what happened in Prague in February, 1948, is far removed from the evaluation of the event in our press and by Congress and the Administration. He rightly describes the McCarran Act and the Internal Security Act as erecting "so solid an iron curtain (around America) that the tourist is subjected to a searching examination of his political affinities." He exposes French rule in Indo-China as a colossal and shameless system of exploitation, though he supposes (I believe, wrongly) that the war was unleashed by the Vietminh rather than by the French in December, 1946.

The analysis of the United States and the United Nations in Korea is almost masterly and the concluding judgments are sharp. In crossing the

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College, author of "International Politics," "The Commonwealth of Man," "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

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38th Parallel, U. N. forces in Korea ceased to be a "police force" against aggression and became "co-belligerents" of Syngman Rhee. "China acted illegally because the United Nations acted illegally" in an error which must never be repeated. American insistence on barring Red China from the U. N. is "entirely unreasonable." Ingram finds it difficult "to escape from the conclusion that the Soviet Union at no period intended to undertake a major offensive against the West, or a minor offensive which would involve the risk of precipitating a major war." In such a war, Britain would have been "virtually annihilated" and both America and Russia ruined. Peace is therefore a necessity and worth the price of patience. "There is no other way."

THE HOLY WARRIORS will denounce the book as "pro-Soviet." The allegation will be as accurate as *Pravda's* contention that one of my own books was "an apology for an American imperialism." Ingram's volume is a valuable contribution to the peace which lies before us. It will be for other analysts to show more fully how the two giants, in their fear-blinded rivalry, unwittingly achieved a global military stalemate rendering war impossible and peace inevitable. And still others must show, if we are to meet the challenge of the human psyche in our age—a far more formidable challenge than the challenge of the atom—how it came to pass that enlightened men on both sides were so victimized by panic that they all but became reincarnations of Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon, Torquemada, and the witch-killers of Salem.

The evil spell is lifting. If any comrades still dream of the "collapse of capitalism" or the revolutionary or military "liberation" of the Western "proletariat," their voices are muted echoes of a lost past or of a millenial future so remote as to be innocuous. And among us the tumult and the shouting of the Senator from Formosa and the Senator from Bedlam also die. Having chosen life in place of death, the Hominidae of the twentieth century have also voted against all crusades and political proscriptions and in favor of patience, perseverance, and forbearance as sign-posts toward a new and fruitful era.

The Critic in Love

BOOK OF MOMENTS. Poems 1915-1944. By Kenneth Burke. Hermes Publications. Los Altos, California. No price given.

By John Ciardi

KENNETH BURKE has made his reputation as the master parser and pigeonholer of modern criticism. In moments of the last forty years he has also been moved to poetry, a kind of "sporadic personal diary," as he calls it, and these ninety pages of impromptus are the generally happy result. Burke certainly has wit, feeling, immediacy, and a sometimes happily haunted sense of the voices of poetry. Quite obviously, however, he has wasted no significant amount of time in revision. The strength of these poems is in their verve, their neatness (at best), and in the honesty with which they earn their sentiment. Their principal weaknesses are in their air of being too often simply intellectual exercises, and in their willingness to tolerate a number of lines that could certainly have been improved by the application of some of Mr. Burke's own critical guides. In a good poem titled Three Seasons of Love, for example, Burke writes: (italics mine)

> But when the chill leaps up,
> And the leaves with a *beautiful melancholy*
> Get out their silks to die in,
> Like *great* lifeless Vikings sent out upon the sea,
> *Majestic in their blazing, wealth-laden galleys. . .*

The base image here strikes me as powerfully right and usable, but has the poet's imagination really worked the passage? Lines three and four are certainly the center and substance of the poetic idea. But what function has the italicized wording? What need is there to tell us that a Viking funeral is beautiful, melancholy, both great and majestic, and that it is staged on a blazing and wealth-laden galley, when all these assertions are already implicit (and therefore more alive) in the image itself?

But Burke's gift as a poet is also real. His word play is in true mortal-fun, and his ear for a rhythm is rich and right. He does especially well ir ending a poem on a kind of dissolving rhythm. Not with a bang but a whimper, perhaps, but the whimper sings. Above all, the poems, when put together, generate the sense of a real person—learned, bourbony, getting on to mortality as a bit of a hard case but still, and always, sweet on life. I like both the cantankerousness and the sweetness; one flavors the other. No one should have trouble believing that Kenneth

JOHN CIARDI is associate professor of English at Rutgers University. His "As If, Poems New and Selected" was published in September.

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Burke's despairs are humanly real.

And certainly, along with a sprinkling of perfect and near-perfect passages scattered through the uneven poems, Sonnet to California and Industrialist's Prayer seem unimprovable of their kind. I like, too, the second stanza (a better poem in itself than the whole poem, I think) of Uneasy Thought of Peace:

In our street
We lie in our hovels
And hear it having snowed
By the scraping of shovels.

For a visit to the indescribable, no one should miss the five, so-called, Flowerishes. Many of the individual aphorisms Burke has built into them could surely be improved, but the total idea is a thing to be stunned by.

An Old Liberal Looks to the New Year, 1953*

A friend had written, saying: "God, what a fantastic situation, when activities legal in 1935 lead to one's being regarded as a criminal in 1952." We pondered on his observation, thus:

Now things are getting turned around,
As turned around as things can be.
And the social conscience of '35
Becomes the treason of '53.

What you did then, all virtuous and legal,
Is now adjudged a crime against the Eagle.

You said, "It's coats we need, both new and old,
To keep us warm in the financial cold."
I think you'd better plead that you did not,
Now that the weather has become so hot.

Be suppliant,
Recant.

You said, "Let's help Democracy in Spain."
Well, lad, I think you'd better say again.
Such attitudes are now deemed vile and ranko,
To be quite Franco.
You said, "Let us protect the immigrant."
Recant.
You would defend our foreign-born?
Unblow your horn.

Were you adaptive during the depression?
You're now a captive, with or sans confession.
The situation then? Forget it, brother.
The situation has become another.

What then was good is now proclaimed polluted,
So let the newer Freedom be saluted.
Did you occasionally rant,
Finding in talk a stimulant?
Were you a bit too protestant?
Or not enough intolerant?
In social views vociferant?
In manifestoes jubilant?
In sponsorship insouciant?
Were you a parlor-pinkish termagant
Who liked with Charlie Marx to gallivant?
Recant! Recant!
What you did then, to be elect,
Is now a crime in retrospect.
The realm of charity grows scant.
Recant.

KENNETH BURKE

*Reprinted from "Book of Moments" with the author's permission.

The Second Industrial Revolution

AMERICA AT MID-CENTURY. By Andre Siegfried. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.75.

By Albert Guerard

ANDRE SIEGFRIED has known and studied this country for fifty years. In 1927, his "America Comes of Age" was hailed as a classic. This book is not a revised edition: it has been thought out and written anew. At eighty, Siegfried is still the keenest of students, not a fossil.

He takes up The Geographical Aspect (a favorite approach with him); The American People: formation, composition, psychology; American Economy; The Social Background and the Formation of Public Opinion; Political Life; and External Relations. The work is highly condensed as well as encyclopedic. No summary could do it justice; and a thorough discussion would require pages. I can pick out only a few salient points.

The ethnic development of America went through three phases. In the Colonial and early Republican periods, the country was unquestionably Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. As such, it was harmonious and mature: the Founding Fathers were not adolescent minds. Then came mass immigration: Irish, Italian, Jewish, Slavic. This created a curious colonialism in reverse: the "natives," i. e., the old stock, exploited and therefore despised the "invaders," i. e., the immigrants. Under a democratic phraseology, there was a class system, fluid but very real, even in the ranks of labor. This ended in 1914. The next four decades saw the progress of social and economic equality. Conspicuous waste was toned down from the Gilded Age. The proletariat disappeared, to the great chagrin of the Marxians. We are now a classless society, a Workers' Republic.

FROM the economic point of view, he insists on the *second* industrial revolution: not simply the machine age, but the advent of immense and thorough organization, the managerial system. It means of course the end of rugged individualism. It is frankly collectivistic, more closely akin to socialism and technocracy than to the economy of the Village Blacksmith. Our slogans are still of the eighteenth century; our industry is of the twentieth.

For Siegfried, the great depression, a crucial event, marked the end of laissez-faire capitalism: we are a welfare state, willy-nilly. Prosperity returned, however, not with the New Deal, but with the Second World War, through boldly socialistic methods. In politics, Siegfried discovered thirty years ago that the lobbies, not the parties, were the essential realities. The parties are

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merely rival firms of contractors offering their services, without any clear-cut ideal of their own.

Siegfried notes the vast progress of Catholicism in numbers, status, and influence. But he believes that the country is still fundamentally Protestant, Puritan, Calvinistic, Presbyterian—at times, he uses the terms interchangeably. He does not make it clear how the other-worldliness of Christianity turned with us into the worship of material success; or how the gloom of Calvin was transformed into indomitable optimism. I believe that the tradition of the Fathers, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Thomas Paine, which he overlooks, is still with us: we are the sons of the Enlightenment. Bargy defined America's religion as "a positivism tinged with Christianity," and William James might have endorsed the phrase.

The tinge is paling: ask Mr. Dulles, the advocate of massive retaliation, what he thinks of the Sermon on the Mount. The moralistic tone, not always convincing to the rest of the world, and the intermittent missionary zeal remain. But they are not specifically Protestant: they existed under the French Revolution, as they exist in Russia. If some Americans are "starry-eyed," "do-gooder" has become a term of reproach. No country is a monolith, but, as Montaigne said of man, "fluctuating and diverse." Siegfried conveys this complexity and this sense of change. Whither? He is too canny to tell.

Selected New Books

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION IN CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE. By Theodore Brameld. Dryden Press. $4.50. Seeing education as an enterprise to be understood in the context of a whole culture, the author surveys three of the most influential educational theories in America today. Progressivism, with its pragmatic philosophy emphasizing individual growth and social experience, is seen to share the conflicting tendencies and problems of the liberal outlook in the contemporary cultural crisis. Essentialism, with its combination of realistic and idealistic philosophical premises, seeing education as handing on basic tradition to passive receptive minds, is judged as expressing an entrenched conservative outlook. Perennialism, set in the Platonic-Aristotelian-Thomistic background, looking back to an idealized past and thinking in terms of a mentally-disciplined elite, is interpreted as both regressive and containing an inherently anti-democratic potential. The explication of the author's own approach—a more far-reaching "reconstructionism"—is postponed to another volume.

THE AGE OF IDEAS. By George R. Havens. Henry Holt. $6. This is a welcome addition to the growing popular literature on the intellectual enlightenment of eighteenth-century France. Life-and-idea sketches of selected figures trace the step-by-step awakening from the despotic reaction of Louis XIV to the French Revolution. More than half the book is devoted to exhibiting the many-sidedness and influence of the giants—Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot. It is written with both an interest in personal detail and a general consciousness that progress today depends on deepening the rational spirit in understanding man.

THE AGE OF ANALYSIS. Twentieth-Century Philosophers. Selected, with Introduction and Interpretive Commentary, by Morton White. Houghton Mifflin. $3. This is the second volume to appear in the series "Great Ages of Western Philosophy" intended for the general reader. It whets the appetite with thirteen philosophers as diverse as Croce, Sartre, Dewey, and Wittgenstein, in selections conveying general outlook rather than specific doctrine or social application. The only major schools wholly unrepresented are the specifically religious, and dialectical materialism. Editorial comments are clear, copious, and sprightly. They have an explicit pragmatic-analytic bent.

THE LIFE OF DAVID HUME. By Ernest Campbell Mossner. Texas. $7.50. An eminently readable full-length study of the eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher. It is constructed with scholarly loving care and will probably remain the definitive account of his life and personal relations—intimate reactions as well as overt aims. It sees Hume in the matrix of day-to-day events, chiefly as reflected in consciousness, his own and others'. Here lie both its strength of immediate fact and its weakness in eschewing interpretive principles. But since Hume had the keenest mind in English philosophy and remains the patron saint of present influential analytic schools, it is good fortune to have the solid base of this book for testing the multiplying interpretations today that aim at wider historical sweep and greater philosophical depth.

ABRAHAM EDEL.

The Great Tradition In English Literature:

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO SHAW

A Biographical-Critical Account Of
22 Major Literary Figures During 300 Years Of History

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois says:

"In these hectic days nobody takes up a book of 946 pages with the idea of reading it through. When I opened Annette Rubinstein's **The Great Tradition in English Literature** it was with the idea of glancing through it and then using it for occasional reference. Instead I read every word of it, and as I lay it down I want my friends to know why they would better follow my example."

Van Wyck Brooks says:

". . . it seems to me that I see American literature very much as you see the older literature from which it sprang. In other words, we have the same idea of the 'great tradition,' and, seen in this light, the two great literatures in our tongue have sprung from a common root and attitude towards life. I am grateful to you for this, for the dominant school of critics now emphasizes what seems to me a secondary and inferior strain. Do let me thank you most warmly for what you have done . . ."

Some copies of the special author's edition, published at $10, are now available at the regular trade price of $7.50. Please send check or money order directly to the author:—Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, 59 W. 71 St., New York 23, N. Y.

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Books in Brief

A Work of Art

SOME PREFER NETTLES. By Junichiro Tanizaki. Translated from the Japanese by Edward G. Seidensticker. Knopf. $3.

Westerners have long tended to think of Japan as a cultural monolith, a single human block enclosed on one side by cherry blossoms and on the other by Shinto. "Some Prefer Nettles," a short novel by Junichiro Tanizaki, in a superb translation by Edward G. Seidensticker, suggests the complexities of Japan with remarkable economy. The book is at once art and education.

Mr. Tanizaki etches the primary tension of Japanese life: the impact of Westernization on an ancient set of traditions, and the dangers of either a retreat into nostalgia or complete cutting away of the past. His book, however, is by no means a "problem" novel. Mr. Tanizaki is too fine a craftsman for explicit rhetoric on his theme. The symbols are there as objects, actions, and human contrasts; ultimately, however, the reader must recreate each tension and element for himself.

This is as it should be, for in Mr. Tanizaki's tenuous prose there is no room for the obvious. He prefers, in his own words, "to keep a thin sheet of paper between the fact or the object and the words that give expression to it." The result is narrative at once delicate and tough, with precise examination of the antenna-touch of meaning on meaning. It is a subtle narrative, as Mr. Tanizaki moves from voiced dialogue to "interior shots" of the several minds involved, giving each conversation unusual nuance.

Scientific Bloodhound

SALAMANDERS AND OTHER WONDERS. Still More Adventures of a Romantic Naturalist. By Willy Ley. Viking. $3.95.

Mr. Ley's popular-science books are not quite like anybody else's. Puzzles, mysteries, and disputed points are his specialty and he has a bloodhound's persistence in following trails through forgotten journals or obscure books. Give him a vulgar error or a lost animal to trace down the centuries and he is happy. So too, is any reader with similar tastes. Like his two previous books on the same plan the present one offers a wide assortment of tangled tales which range from those still unexplained footprints in Himalayan snows which natives insist are left by an unknown race of beast-men to the man-eating tree of Madagascar which seems to have come into the corpus of scientific pseudodoxia via a solemn hoax. Another tidbit attempts to trace the relation between the ancient legends about pygmies and those tribes of little men which do actually exist. Still another sketches the full background of the Lysenko epic which goes back to Kammerer, the puzzling Austrian biologist who committed suicide when his fraudulent experiments supposed to demonstrate the inheritance of acquired characteristics were exposed, but who was rehabilitated in a movie, sponsored by Lunarcharsky, which presented him as the victim of a capitalist plot designed to protect the aristocratic implications of orthodox genetics. "Salamanders" is not everybody's meat but it ought to please those interested in detective stories as well as those interested in what the author calls "romantic" natural history.

How Cities Grow

AMERICAN SKYLINE. By Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

Tunnard's "City of Man" was an extremely ambitious effort; the charm of this little book lies in its simplicity. It takes up the growth and form of our towns and cities, through the Colonial Pattern, the Young Republic, the Romantic Era, the Age of Steam and Iron, The Expanding City, the City Beautiful (which the authors defend against the scorn of the functionalists), the City of Towers, and the Regional City. There is a convenient summary in tabular form, which is a capital syllabus of our cultural history. The style is direct and pleasing; the illustrations, both the drawings by John Cohen and the photographs, are excellent. It is impossible to be lucid without general ideas. But some general ideas are sirens. We are told: "Would the skyscrapers have risen in a country with limits?" But the skyscraper came into existence because Manhattan was a tight little island. The vastness of America demands a sprawling, not a soaring, architecture. "All colonial countries find new energy on becoming independent nations." Compare the brilliancy of eighteenth-century Mexico with the dark chaos of the nineteenth. On the whole, a useful and delightful book, with definite bearing on the problems ahead of us.

Life on the Wing

BIRDS OF THE WORLD. By Paul Barruel. Translated by Phyllis Barclay-Smith. Oxford. $12.50.

The title of this handsome volume is misleading. In no sense is the book a comprehensive guide to the birds of the world—the different species and their distribution. The author, the French naturalist and artist Paul Barruel, has, rather, given the reader, in language that shuns technical jargon, an understanding of the way birds behave. He is concerned with their daily round of activities—flight, foraging for food, fighting, etc.; their reproductive cycle with its mating, nesting, and singing; their incredible migrations; their traits of gregariousness and solitude. The author uses pictures fully as much as words—and often to far greater effect. The text is gorgeously illustrated with colored prints—most of them selected from paintings done by himself—with pen and ink drawings, and hundreds of candid camera shots. His point of view is especially refreshing: neither coldly scientific nor sentimental. He has reached the interesting conclusion that "it is not by investing animals with human feeling that we shall feel they are nearer to us, or that we shall understand them better, but, on the contrary, by recognizing that it is man who, without realizing it and despite his isolation, has retained psychological characteristics of the higher animals." Note: the North American reader will be disappointed that very few of our native birds find their way into text or pictures.

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Records

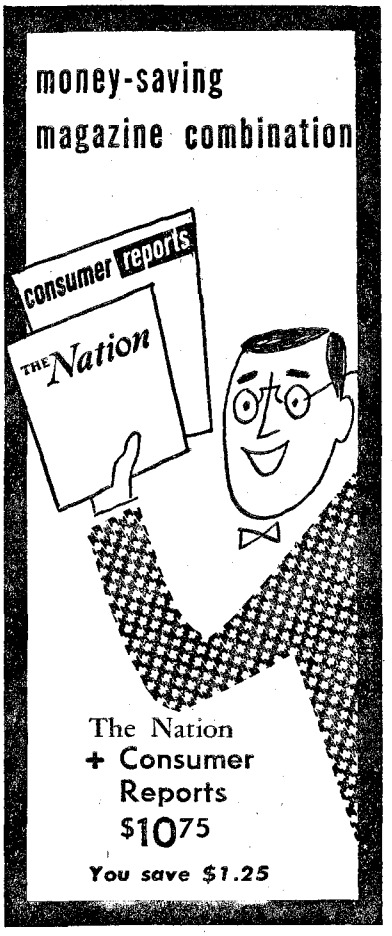
B. H. Haggin

THE NEW Angel recording of Mozart's "Cosi Fan Tutte" (3522-C) is an outstanding event. Listening to it one hears first the beautiful playing of the Philharmonia Orchestra under von Karajan; in the opening scene one hears the beautiful voices of Simoneau (Ferrando), Panerai (Guglielmo), and Bruscantini (Don Alfonso), noting that Bruscantini's voice makes Don Alfonso a prematurely cynical young bachelor instead of the old one of the opera, and noting further that all three sing with extraordinary delicacy and refinement of phrasing and style; in the next scene one hears the beautiful voices of Schwarzkopf (Fiordiligi) and Merriman (Dorabella) used with similar delicacy and refinement; and by the end of that scene, after the exquisite textures of the great quintet *Di scrivermi,* one realizes that the entire performance is being held to the scale of Schwarzkopf's miniature style of singing. She herself opens up with greater power in *Come scoglio* and in the recitative leading to *Per pieta,* but not in *Per pieta* itself, and without the amplitude of vocal sound with which Steber achieves such grandeur in these two arias in the Columbia performance. This is, then, an exquisitely, ear-ravishingly sung performance, wonderfully effective and moving as such a performance though it doesn't have other effects of a more robust one. And if one thinks at first that it is a performance one would never hear in one of the great opera houses, one's further thought is that it is a performance one might very well hear in the Redoutensaal in Vienna or the theater at Glyndebourne. Not having mentioned it earlier I will end by mentioning now the beautiful singing of Lisa Otto, the Despina.

Like "L'Italiana in Algeri," Rossini's "Il Turco in Italia," which he wrote a year later at the age of twenty-two, exhibits a youthful freshness of invention in the lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles that are most familiar in "The Barber of Seville" and that rise to incandescence in "La Cenerentola." The several concerted numbers are especially fine; and on the other hand Rossini gives us Fiorilla's lovely simple song *Se il zefiro si posa.* Angel 3535-5S offers the superb La Scala production of last spring, with Callas, Rossi-Lemeni, Gedda, Calabrese, and Stabile, and with Gavazzeni conducting. After Callas's reckless forcing and consequent stridency and tremulous shrillness in "La Forza del Destino" it is a surprise and a pleasure to hear her continent use of a voice miraculously restored in "Il Turco"—which is to say that the unusual timbre of the voice and the extraordinary tension and projective force of its inflection, are again very exciting, and this not only in the florid bravura passages but in the simple *Se il zefiro.*

Similar singing is is heard on Angel 35233, "Callas: Coloratura-Lyric," in *Una voce poco fa* from "The Barber," the Shadow Song from "Dinorah," the Bell Song from "Lakme" (in Italian), and the Bolero from "I Vespri Siciliani." Serafin conducts the Philharmonia Orchestra in these arias and in others from "Mefistofele," "La Wally," "Andrea Chenier," and "Adriana Lecouvreur."

AS a newspaper reviewer of musical events in London from 1888 to 1894 Bernard Shaw wrote the finest music criticism written in English, and some of the finest in any language. Though concerned with happenings of seventy years ago it is fascinating to read today, and no one should miss it. But one should read tne four volumes of "London Music" and "Music in London" in the Constable complete edition of Shaw, which are imported by bookstores, rather than the selection from them in the volume "Shaw on Music" recently issued by Anchor Books, which offers only a small part of the superb material in the Constable volumes, and this part with what for me are the annoying intrusions of Eric Bentley's foreword and his categories and titles, which are moreover poor bases of selection and arrangement. Since most of Shaw's chronicles dealt with a number of events and a mixture of subjects he



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published them in the Constable volumes in chronological order with nothing but their dates; and they don't submit to the professional anthologist's categories and titles: under "The Main Tradition" and the sub-category "Mozart," in the Anchor volume, one finds something titled "Mozart and Beethoven" on the basis of nothing more than an opening observation in a passage concerned with the misdeeds of a pianist; and uninteresting pages about musical comedies of the period are included to fill out the category "Light Entertainment." Nor do I approve the kind of intellectual operation with which Bentley, in his foreword, justifies the selection: it is, he says, not a selection for the historian that gives a picture of musical London around 1890, nor one for the student of Shaw that gives an account of Shaw's mind, but one for the music lover: "by removing hundreds of thousands of words on hundreds of topics [we] leave ourselves with some one hundred thousand words which are . . . about music and musicians." It is not true that the selected hundred thousand are about music and the other hundreds of thousands about other topics: the truth is that the material for the historian and for the student of Shaw and for the music lover is in all the hundreds of thousands of words, which are about music and musicians.

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(Seal) GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public.

State of New York No. 41-0392950. Qualified in Queens County. Term expires March 30, 1957.

Letters

The Holohan Story

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading Jesse Gordon's story on The Holohan Case in the September 10 issue, and being the late major's brother I was much pleased It is very well written and is most accurate in the basic details, and I consider it one of the better presentations of the case.

JOSEPH R. HOLAHAN.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: The story of The Holohan Case in your issue of September 10 by Jesse Gordon was fascinating. The general counsel of the Defense Department admits they have twenty or thirty other cases which cannot be prosecuted for similar reasons. Maybe that is the reason the Defense Department tried to suppress the story. But that isn't the way in a democracy. Why the secrecy and censorship of news?

JOAN MORRISON
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: Your article on The Holohan Case deserves commendation. Mr. Jesse Gordon and you have rendered a fine public service in revealing the true and detailed facts of this appalling case. Our jurisprudence has benefited greatly also.

JESSE L. ROSENBERG
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: The article on The Holohan Case was a clear and succinct review of the events as they have been disclosed from time to time in the newspapers and magazines; you are to be commended for your presentation of the case.

However, certain things occur to me as a lawyer which have not been made clear. For example, if Icardi and Lo-Dolce planned the murder of Major Holohan solely for the purpose of stealing the funds which were in his possession, why should they have taken two Italian partisans into the plot? And why should these partisans have permitted themselves to become accessories to the murder of an American officer who was where he was as a representative of the United States Government, placed there to help the cause in which they were enlisted? In other words, the motive for the killing has not been fully established, and motive is an important element of premeditated murder.

Finally, no reason is given for the implied charge that the Defense Department has been engaged in a "cover up." As we know, the army does not condone mutiny or murder of an officer, especially by his juniors, under any circumstances, and if such were the case, it may be presumed that it would have left no stone unturned to bring the culprits to military justice. The failure of the department to take any step in that direction must be ascribed to reasons other than a "cover up."

Perhaps the perjury trial of Icardi which, I read, has been set for next February, may clear up some of these points.

BERTRAM BOARDMAN
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: In The Holohan Case, Jesse Gordon lists the errors and omissions of the Department of Defense in its handling of this affair. The author gave constructive criticism and it was exceptionally well written.

We know, for example, that morale suffers whenever there is any suspicion that public information is being withheld in an unwarranted manner. The Department of Defense should realize that news suppression is harmful in any democratic country.

CAPTAIN AMOS L. HORST (Ret.)
New York, N. J.

Dear Sirs: I found The Holohan Case by Jesse Gordon particularly stimulating and disturbing. There is so much more I would like to know and understand. Why haven't the wheels of justice turned properly in this case? And what does this symbolize to the public both here and abroad in terms of justice, fair play, and due process of law? Here's hoping a much more thorough and public investigation of the case comes out of this. Thank you for your coverage and insight in being interested enough to print a story like this. I'm happy that we still have publications like yours that believe in good and honest journalism.

FRANCES TURCHIN
Flushing, N. Y.

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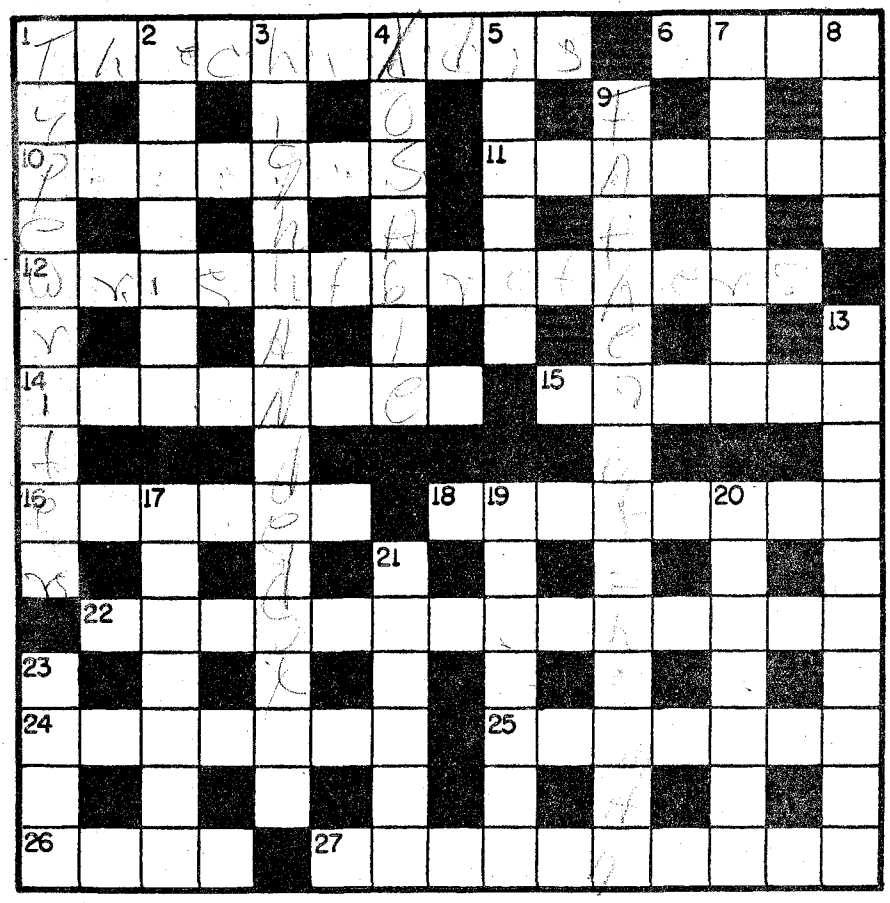
Crossword Puzzle No. 640

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9 down Did Wordsworth imply the youngster is obsese, when attended by a person of valor and something to circulate about them? (3,5,2,6,2,3,3)
6 See 8 down
10 Pawns capable of being rushed. (7)
11 A sort of powder a long way around on the railroad. (7)
12 They certainly don't sound like the wrong pair of persons bent on flight. (6,8)
14 Raises a stink, no doubt! (8)
15 Throw the remainder in the river, fast! (6)
16 It comes back withered-like inside, and does away with things. (6)
18 He might perform a confusing operation on deck. (8)
22 Such functions might refer to the operation of 1 down. (14)
24 Is a name difficult to recall with it? (7)
25 Even slim men seem somewhat large around the middle, upon close inspection. (7)
26 and 23 down Make the cart cross back into the entrance way. (8)
27 Mercury might typify them. (10)

DOWN

1 Correct notes should involve striking the right key with it. (10)
2 Plaintive. (7)
3 Having the best cards? (14)
4 Look! Black can get out of hand! (7)
5 Brought up like Remus's folks, if you don't find out first. (6)
7 Are they in the lumbering line, when it comes to transportation? (7)
8 and 6 across You might into a cot of an apostic. (8)
9 See 1 across.
13 Keep track of the waves as they come in—they help each other along. (10)
17 His brother was not quite so proper. (7)
19 One of these might be bad in part, even if good. (Their duties shouldn't be taken too lightly!) (7)
20 Deviation from form (with formal permission, of course). (7)
21 Is the foreign agent a relative? (6)
23 See 26 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 639

ACROSS: 1 COVES; 4 SUBSTANCE; 9 NO SMOKING; 10 ELOPE; 11 IN A PICKLE; 12 OMITS; 13 NOW AND THEN; 21 IXION; 22 PRECIPICE; 23 GRETA; 24 INTRIGUED; 25 DISSENTER; 26 NEEDY. DOWN: 1 CANDID; 2 VASSAL; 3 STOLID; 4 STICK TO THE POINT; 5 BIGGER AND BETTER; 6 TOE HOLDS; 7 NEOLITHS; 8 EVENSONG; 14 UNHINGED; 15 UGLINESS; 16 STONE AGE; 18 MINION; 19 MINUTE; 20 and 17 DEADLY NIGHTSHADE.

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